power and prestige of Slavery in the Wnite

practically governed the Union directly for 6

States are passing away. The slave

hereafter deport themselves properly, under the control of authorities by which they have been her artificial channels into her own once obscure of the association under it, was morally wrong. To emigrate from one State or Territory singly,

part of the annual message to argumentative speculations bearing on the character of his accuser. Each State has two and no more Senators in the Senate of the United States. In determining the apportionment of Representatives in the House of Representatives, and in the electoral colleges among the States, three-fifths of all the slaves in any State are enumerated. The slaveholding or non-slaveholding character of a State is determined, not at the time of its admission into the Union as a State, but at that earlier period of its political life in which, being called a Territory, it is politically dependent on the United States, or on some foreign sovereign. Slavery is tolerated in some of the States, and forbidden in others. Affecting the industrial and economical systems of the several States, as Slavery and Freedom do, this diversity of prac-tice concerning them early worked out a corres-ponding difference of conditions, interests, and ambitions, among the States, and divided and arrayed them into two classes. The balance of political power between these two classes in the Federal system is sensibly affected by the acces-sion of any new State to either of them. Each State therefore watches jealously the settlement, growth, and inchoate slaveholding and non-slave-holding characters of Territories, which may ultimately come into the Union as States. It has resulted from these circumstances, that Slavery, in relations purely political and absolutely Federal, is an element which enters with more or less actrade, of expenditure, or protection, of free trade, of patronage, of peace, of war, of annexa-tion, of defence, and of conquest, and modifies opinions concerning constructions of the Constitu-tion, and the distribution of powers between the Union and the several States by which it is constituted. Slavery, under these political and Federal aspects alone, enters into the transactions in Kanconcerned. Nevertheless, he disingenuously al-ludes to those transactions in his defence, as if they were identified with that moral discussion ing, and without any other claim to consideration. Thus he alludes to the question before us as belonging to a "political agitation" "concerning a matter which consists to a great extent of
exaggeration of inevitable evils, or over-zeal in
social improvement, or mere imagination grievance, having but a remote connection with any of the constitutional functions of the Fed-

In like manner the President assails and stigmatizes those who defend and maintain the cause of Kansas, as "men of narrow views and * sectional purposes," "engaged in those wild and * chimerical schemes of social change which are * generated one after another in the unstable minds of visionary sophists and interested agitators"—
"mad men, raising the storm of frenzy and faction." "sectional agitators," "enemies of the Constitution, who have surrendered themselves so far to a fanatical devotion to the supposed inter-ests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abandon and disregard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans, and trample under foot the injunctions of mora and constitutional obligation, and to engage in plans of vindictive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our free institutions." Sir, the President's defence on this occasion, if not a matter simply personal, is at least one of temporary and ephemeral importance. Possibly, all the advantages he will gain by transferring to his accuser a portion of the popular prejudice against Abolition and Abolitionists, can be spared to him. It would be wise, however, for those whose intererished institution. Abolition is a slow cause they conflict inconveniently with existing material, social, and political interests. It belong present interests, to conduct the social reformation I may, however, remind slaveholders that there is by Prætors, Governors, Senates, Councils, and Emeven the cross on which its Founder had expired, and which therefore was the emblem of its shame, more thereafter, conquering and to conquer. Abo

The President raises in his defence a false issue and elaborates an irrelevant argument to prove that Congress has no right or power, nor has any sister State any right or power, to interfere within a slave State, by legislation or force, to abolish Slavery therein-as if you, or I, or any

its simple text, so as to make it expressly and directly defend, protect, and guaranty African Slavery. Thus he alleges that "the Government" which resulted from the Revolution was a "Federal Republic of the free white men of the Colonies," whereas, on the contrary, the Declaration of Independence asserts the political equality of all men, and even the Constitution itself carefully avoids any political recognition not merely of Slavery, but of the diversity of races. The Presthorizing Congress to abolish the African slave expected it to languish immediately, and ulti-

massage with a deliberate assault, very incongruous he such a place, upon some of the Northern marked caution, from naming the accused States. They, however, receive a compliment at his hands, by way of giving keenness to his rebuke, which enables us to identify them. They are Northern charged is, that they disregard their constitu-tional obligations, and although "conscious of their inability to heal admitted and palpable so-cial evils of their own confessedly within their 'jurisdiction, they engage in an offensive, hope-less, and illegal undertaking, to reform the do-mestic institutions of the Southern States, at the peril of the very existence of the Constitution, and of all the countless benefits which it has conferred." I challenge the President to the proof, in behalf of Massachusetts; although I have only the interest common to all Americans and to all men in her great fame. What one it? Is it ignorance, prejudice, bigotry, vice, crime, public disorder, poverty, or disease, afflicting the minds or the bodies of her people? There she stands. Survey her universities, colleges, academies, observatories, primary schools, Sunday her ga dens, observe her manufactories of cending every river and inlet on your own coast, and her ships displaying their canvass on every sea; follow her fishermen in their adventurous voyages from her own and adjacent bays to the icy ocean under either pole; and then return and enter her hospitals, which cure or relieve suffering humanity in every condition and at every period of life, from the lying-in to the second childhood, and which not only restore sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb, but also bring back wandering reason to the insane, and teach even the idiot to think! Massachusetts, sir, is a she was most conspicuous of all the States in the establishment of republican institutions here, she is even more conspicuous still for the municipal wisdom with which she has made them con-

tribute to the welfare of her people, and to the greatness of the Republic itself. In behalf of New York, for whom it is my right and duty to speak, I defy the Presidential accuser. Mark her tranquil magnanimity, which be-comes a State for whose delivery from tyranny Schuyler devised and labored, who received her citizens, who were engaged in "taking up" new

mocks them with a promise, that, if they shall to the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, and granting of the charter, nor any legislative action

herself within the jurisdiction of sister States, to modify or reform their institutions? No, no, sir. Their faults have been quite different. They have conceded too often and too much for their own just dignity and influence in Federal Administration, to the querulous complaints of the States in whose behalf the President arraigns them. I thank the President for the insult though so deeply unjust, was perhaps needful to arouse them to their duty in this great

The President, in this connection, reviews the acquisitions of new domain, the organization of new Territories, and the admission of new States, and arrives at results which must be as agreeably surprising to the slave States, as they are astounding to the free States. He finds that the former have been altogether guiltless of political ambition, while he convicts the latter not only of unjust territorial aggrandizement, but also of false and fraudulent clamor against the slave States, to cover their own aggressions. Not-withstanding the President's elaborated misconceptions, these historical facts remain, namelythat no acquisition whatever has ever been made at the instance of the free States, and with a view to their aggrandizement: that Louisiana and Florida, incidentally acquired for general and important national objects, have already yielded to the slave States three States of their own class, while Texas was avowedly annexed as a tivity into many national questions of finance, of revenue, of expenditure, of protection, of free trade, of patronage, of peace, of war, of annexation, of defence, and of conquest, and modifies opinions concerning constructions of the Constitu-States have obtained a virtual repeal of the Mexican law which forbade Slavery in New Mexico and Utah; and that, as a consequence of that ex-traordinary legislation, Congress has also re-scinded the prohibition of Slavery, which, in 1820, was extended over all of that part of Louisana, except Missouri, which lies north of 36° 30' of north latitude. Sir. the real crime of the Northern States is this: they are forty degrees too high on the arc of north latitude.

I dismiss for the present the President's first defence against the accusation of the new State

On the 24th of January, 1856, when no import-

ant event had happened which was unknown at the date of the President's annual message, he submitted to Congress his second defence, in the eral Government, and menacing the stability of form of a special message. In this paper, the President deplores, as the cause of all the troubles which have occurred in Kansas, delays of the organization of the Territory, which have been permitted by the Governor, Mr. Reeder. The organic law was passed by Congress on the 31st of May, 1854, but on that day there was not one lawful elector, citizen, or inhabitant, within the Territory, while the question, whether Slavery or universal Freedom should be established there, was devolved practically on the first Legislative bodies to be elected by the people who were to become thereafter the inhabitants of Kansas. The election for the first Legislative bodies was appointed by the Governor to be held on the 30th of March, 1855; and the 2d day of July, 1855, was designated for the organization of the Legislative Assembly. The only civilized community that was in contact with the new Territory was Missouri, a slaveholding State, at whose instance the prohibition of Slavery within the Territory had been abrogated, so that she might attempt to colonize it with slaves. Immigrants were invited not only from all parts of the United States, but also from all other parts of the world, with a pledge that the people of the new Territory should be left perfectly free to establish or pro-hibit Slavery. A special election, however, was held within the Territory on the 29th day of No-Abolition will gain an equivalent benefit from the identification of the President's defence with their defence with their dentification of the President's defence with the president dentification of the President's defence with their dentification of the President's defence with the president dentification of the President's defence with their dentification of the President's defence with the President dentification of the President dentification dentificatio Monday of December, 1854, and to end on the third day of March, 1855. Mr. J. W. Whitfield was certified to be elected. There were vehement title was nevertheless not contested, for the pal-pable reasons, that an investigation under the circumstances of the Territory, during so short a session of Congress, would be impossible, and that the question was of inconsiderable magnitude. be effectual against such movements; and then the odium they have before unjustly incurred becomes an element of strength and power. Christative bodies of the new Territory to be held lative bodies of the new Territory to be held simultaneously with that hurried Congressional election. He assigns his reasons : "Any question appertaining to the qualifications of persons voting as the people of the Territory would (in that case, incidentally) have necessarily passed under the supervision of Congress, (meaning the House of Representatives,) and would have been determined before conflicting passions had been inflamed by time, and before an opportunity would have been afforded for systematic interference by the people of individual States." Could the President, in any explicit arrangement of words, more distinctly have confessed his disappointment in failing to secure a merely formal election of Legislative bodies within the Territory, in fraud of the organic law, of the people of Kansas, and of the cause of natural justice and

denunciations against what he calls a propagand-ist attempt to colonize the Territory with oppo-nents of Slavery. The whole American Conti-nent has been undergoing a process of coloniza-tion, in many forms, throughout a period of three hundred and fifty years. The only common element of all those forms was propagandism. Were not the voyages of Columbus progagandist expeplated and provided for a permanent increase of the number of slaves in some of the States, and a propagandism of the Catholic Church? The therefore forbidden Congress to touch Slavery in the way of attack or offence, and as having therefore also placed it under the general safeguard the later plantation of the Mohawk valley by the Palatines; the establishment of Pennsylvania by the Friends; the mission of the Moravians at trade after 1808, as a means of attack, inflicted Bethlehem, in the same State; the foundation of Maryland by Lord Baltimore and his colony of British Catholics; the settlement of Jamestown by the Cavaliers and Churchmen of England; that of South Carolina by the Huguenots: Were not all these propagandist colonizations? Was not Texas settled by a colony of slaveholders, and California by companies of freemen? Yet never before did any Prince, King, Emperor, or Presi-dent, denounce such colonizations. Does any law of nature or nations forbid them? Does any public authority quarantine, on the ground of into the gates of New York whole religious sowere conspicuous in that great transaction. All cieties from Ireland, Wales, Germany, and Nor way, with their pastors, and clerks, and choirs But the President charges that the propagandists entered Kansas with a design to "anticipat question within the Territory," (in favor of Freedom.) forgetting, nevertheless, that he has only just before deplored a failure of his own to saticipate and force the determination of that question in favor of Slavery, by a coup-de-main, in advance even of their departure from their homes in the Atlantic States and in Europe. He charges, moreover, that the propagandists designed to "prevent the free and natural action of the in-habitants in the intended organization of the only free and natural course to organize it by immigrating and becoming permanent inhabitunlawful or turbulent act has been charged against any one of the propagandists of ency of the President. On the 29th of June, 1854, only twenty-nine days after the opening of the Territory, and before one of these emigrants had reached Kansas, or even Missouri, a propagandist association, but not of emigrants, named the Platte County Self-Defensive Association, assen bled at Weston, on the western border of Mis souri, in the interest of Slavery; and it published through the organ of the President of the United States at that place, a resolution, that "when called upon by any citizen of Kansas, its mem-bers would hold themselves in readiness to assist in removing any and all emigrants who should go there under the aid of Northern Emigrant Societies." This association afterward often made good its atrocious threats, by violence against the property, peace, and lives, of unoffend-ing citizens of Kansas. But the President of the

> even note its existence.
>
> The majority of the Committee on Territories ingeniously elaborate the President's charge, and arraign Massachusetts, her Emigrant Aid Society, and her emigrants. What has Massachusetts done, worthy of censure? Before the Kansas or-ganic law was passed by Congress, Massachu-

control of authorities by which they have been disfranchised, in determining institutions which have been already forcibly determined for them by foreign invasion, that then they "must be protected against interference by citizens of any of the States."

The President, however, not content with a statement so obscure and unfair, devotes a third part of the annual message to argumentative architecture of this content with a statement of the character of his content with a statement of the annual message to argumentative architecture of his content with a settle of the ocean, and the commerce of all the continents concentrates itself at her feet; and with it, strong and full floods of immigration ride in, contributing labor, capital, art, valor, and enterprise, to perfect and embellish our ever-widening empire.

When, and on what occasion, has Massachuselment of American progress and civilization.

Setts or New York officiously and illegally intruded herself within the jurisdiction of sister States, to Without it, there could be no community, no politi-cal Territory, no State in Kansas. Without it, there could have been no United States of America. To retain and carry into Kansas cherished political as well as moral, social, and religious convictions, is a right of every emigrant. Must emi-grants to that Territory carry there only their persons, and leave behind their minds and souls, disembodied and wandering in their native lands? They only are fit founders of a State who exercise independence of opinion; and it is to the exercise of that right that our new States, equally with all the older ones, owe their intelligence

"There are, who, distant from their native soil, [Still for their own and country's glor; toil; While some, fast rooted to their parent spot, In life are useless, and in death, forgot."

It is not morally wrong for Massachusetts to aid her sons, by a charter, to do what in itself is innocent and commendable. The President and the majority of the committee maintain that such least of international laws. Here is the Constitu-tion of the United States, and here are the Statutes at Large, in ten volumes octavo. Let the President or his defenders point out the inhibi-tion. They specify, particularly, that the action of the State violates a law of comity, which regulates the intercourse of independent States, and especially the intercourse between the mem-Burlamaqui. Let them point out in these pages this law of comity. There is no law of comity which forbids nations from permitting and en couraging emigration, on the ground of opinion. Moreover, Slavery is an outlaw under the law of nations. Still further, the Constitution of the United States has expressly incorporated into itself all of the laws of comity, for regulating the intercourse between independent States, which it deems proper to adopt. Whatever is forbidden expressly by the Constitution is unlawful. What-ever is not forbidden is lawful. The supposed law of comity is not incorporated into the Con-With the aid of the Committee on Territories, we

discover that the emigrants from Massachusetts have violated the supposed national laws, not by any unlawful conduct of their own, but by provo-king the unlawful and flagitious conduct of the invaders of Kansas. "They passed through Missouri in large numbers, using violent language, and giving unmistakable indications of their hostility to the domestic institutions of that State," and thus "they created apprehensions that the object of the Emigrant Aid Company was to abolitionize Kansas, as a means of prosecuting a relentless warfare upon the institution of Slavery within the limits of Missouri, which apprehensions, increasing with the progress of events, ultimately became settled convictions of the people of

Missouri builds railroads, steamboats, and wharves. It cannot be, therefore, that the mere "largeness of the numbers" of the Eastern travellers offended or alarmed the borderers. I confess my surprise that the sojourners used violent language. It seems unlike them. I confess my greater surprise that the borderers were disturbed so deeply by mere words. It seems unlike them. Which of the domestic institutions of Missouri were those against which the travellers manifested determined hostility? Not certainly her manufactories, banks, railroads, churches, and schools. All these are domestic institutions held in high respect by the men of Massachusetts, and are just such ones as these emigrants are now establishing in Kansas. It was therefore African Slavery alone, a peculiar domestic institution of Missouri, against which their hostility was directed. Waiving a suspicious want of proof of the unwise conduct charged against them, I submit that inferred, from the language and demeanor of the prosecute a relentless warfare against Slavery in borderers, but less deliberate than far-sighted. Kansas was not to be abolitionized. It had litionized Kansas would constitute no means for adjacent to abolitionized Iowa on the north, and to abolitionized Illinois on the east, vet neither signs. How could this fearful enemy prosecute a warfare against Slavery in Missouri? Only by own prices, and so qualifying themselves to speak their hostility through the ballot-boxes? Could apprehensions so absurd justify the invasion of Kansas? Are the people of Kansas to be disfran-chised and trodden down by the President of the United States, in punishment for any extravagance of emigrants, in Missouri, on the way to

Such is the President's second defence, so as it presents new matter in avoidance of the accusation of the new State of Kansas. I proceed, in the third place, to establish the truth of the accusations. Of what sort must the proofs be? Manifestly only such as the circumstances of the case permit to exist. Not engrossed documents, authenticated by executive, judicial, or legislative officers. The transactions occurred in an unorganized country. All the authorities subsequently established in the Territory are implicated, all the complainants disfranchised. Only presumptive evidence, derived from the parties concerned, cas be required.

Such presumptive evidence is derived from the nature and character of the President's defences. Why did the President plead at all on the 31st was yet unorganized, and could not appear her to prefer her accusations until the 23d of March why, it he must answer so prematurely, did he not plead a general and direct denial? If he must plead specially, why did he not set forth the facts, instead of withholding all actual information concerning the case? Why, since, instead of defending himself, he must implead his accuser, did he not state, at least, the ground on which that accuser claimed to justify the conduct which that accuser claimed to justify the conduct of which he complained? Why did he threaten "to overcome and suppress" the people of Kansas, as insurrectionists, if he did not mean to terrify them, and to prevent their appearing here, or at least to prejudice their cause? Why did he mock them with a promise of protection thereafter, against interference by citizens of other after, against interference by citizens of other States, if they should deport themselves peacefully and submissively to the Territorial authorities, if no cause for apprehending such interference had already been given by previous invasion? Why did he labor to embarrass his accuser by identifying her cause with the subject of aboliwith opprobrious epithets, and impute to them depraved and seditious motives? Why did he interpose the false and impertinent issue, whether one State could intervene by its laws or by force to abolish Slavery in another State? Why did he distort the Constitution, and present it as expressly guarantying the perpetuity of Slavery? Why did he arraign so unnecessarily and so unjustly, not one, but all of the original Northern States? Why did he drag into this case, where only Kansas is concerned, a studied, partial, and prejudicial history of the past enlargements of the national domain, and of the past contests between the slave States and the free States, in their rivalry for the balance of power? Why did not the President rest content with

one such attack on the character and conduct of the new State of Kansas, in anticipating he coming, if he felt assured that she really had no a second plea in advance? Why in this plea does he deplore the delays which prevented the Missouri borderers from effecting the conquest of Kansas, and the establishment of Slavery there-in, at the time of the Congressional election held in November, 1854, in fraud of the Kansas law in November, 1854, in fraud of the Kansas law, and of justice and humanity? Why, without reason, or authority of public or of national law, does he denounce Massachusetts, her Emigrant Aid Society, and her emigrants? If "propagandist" emigrations must be denounced, why does he spare the Platte County Self-Defensive Association? Why does he charge Governor Reeder with "failing to put forth all his energies to prevent or counteract the tendencies to illegality which are found to exist in all imperfectly organ-ized and newly associated countries," if, indeed, no "illegality" has occurred there? While thus, by implication, admitting that such illegality has occurred in Kansas, why does he not tell us its occurred in Kansas, why does he not tell us its nature and extent? Why, when Gov. Reeder was implicated in personal conduct, not criminal, but incongruous with his official relations, did the President retain him in office until after he had proclaimed at Easton that Kansas had been subjuncted by the control of the returns, we are satisfied that over 3,000 to votes were thus cast by the citizens and residence of the States."

picious to a truthful and legal result, if, never-theless, the result attained was indeed a truthful and legal one? On what evidence does the President ground his statement, that after that election, there were mutual complaints of usurpation, fraud, and violence, when we hear from no other quarter of such complaints made by the party that prevailed? If there were such mutual accusations, and even if they rested on probable grounds, would that fact abate the right of the people of Kansas to a Government of their own, securing a safe and well-ordered free-dom? Why does the President argue that the Governor (Mr. Reeder) alone had the power to receive and consider the returns of the election of the Legislative bodies, and that he certified districts, when he knows that the Governor being his own agent, gave the certificates, on the ground that the returns were technically correct, and that the illegality complained of was in the conduct of the elections, and in the making up of the returns by the judges, and that the terror of the armed invasion prevented all complaints of this kind from being presented to the Governor? Why does the President repose on the fact that the Governor, on the ground of informality in the returns, rejected the members who were chosen in the seven other districts, and ordered new elections therein, and certified in favor of the pertions therein, and certified in favor of the persons then chosen, when he knows that the jority, elected in the fifteen districts, expelled at once the persons chosen at such second elections, and admitted those originally returned as elected in these seven districts, on the ground that the Governor's rejection of them, and the second elections which he ordered, were unauthorized and illegal? Why does the President, although omitting to mention this last fact, neverthele justify the expulsion of these newly elected men bers, on the ground that it was authorized by parliamentary law, when he knows that ther was no parliamentary or other law existing in the Territory, but the organic act of Congress, which conferred no such power on the Legisla-ture? Why was Governor Reeder replaced by Mr. Shannon, who immediately proclaimed that the Legislative bodies which his predecessor had denounced were the legitimate Legislature of the Territory? Why does the President plead that the subject of the alleged Missourian usurpation and tyranny in Kansas was one which, by its nature, appertained exclusively to the jurisdiction of the local authorities of the Territory, when, if the charges were true, there were nelegitimate local authorities within the Territory Is a foreign usurpation in a defenceless Territor of the United States to be tolerated, if only it b successful? And is the Government de facto, by whomsoever usurped, and with whatever tyrann exercised, entitled to demand obedience from th people, and to be recognised by the President of the United States? Why does he plead, tha "whatever irregularities may have occurred, is now too late to raise the question?" Is ther nothing left but endurance to citizens of the United States, constituting a whole political community of men, women, and children—an incipient American State—subjugated and oppressed? Must they sit down in peace, abandon-ed, contented, and despised? Why does he plead, that "at least it is a question as to which, neither now, nor at any previous time, has the least possible legal authority been possessed by the President of the United States?" Did any magistrate ever before make such an exhibition ambitious imbecility? Cannot Congress cloth him with power to act, and is it not his duty to ask power to remove usurpation and subvert tyr anny in a Territory of the United States? Ar these the tone, the tenor, and the staple, of a de-fence, where the accused is guiltless, and the rence, where the accused is guittess, and the crimes charged were never committed? The President virtually confesses all the transactions charged, by thus presenting a connected system of maxims and principles, invented to justify

I proceed, however, to clinch conviction by direct and positive proofs: First, the statements of the party which has been overborne. General Pomeroy and his associates, in behalf of the State of Kansas, make this representation concerning the Congressional election held in the Territory on the 30th of November, 1854: "The first ballot-box that was opened upon

our virgin soil was closed to us by overpower-'to conceal their attack. They came upon us, not in the guise of voters, to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly, to snatch it with a strong hand. They came directly from their own homes, and in compact and organi zed bands, with arms in hand and provision the expedition, marched to our polls, and, when their work was done, returned whence they came It is unnecessary to enter into the details; it is enough to say that in three districts, in which, by the most irrefragable evidence, there were no one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in the mockery of the electsand votes."

In regard to the election of the 30th of March. 1855, the same party states:
"They (the Missourians) arrived at their sev eral destinations the night before the election and having pitched their camps and placed their sentries, waited for the coming day. Baggage wagons were there, with arms and ammunition wagons were there, with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field-pieces, ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their respective States. In the morning they surrounded the polls, armed with guns, bowie-knives, and revolvers, and declared their determination to vote at all hazards, and in spite of all consequences. If the index could spite of all consequences. If the judges could be made to subserve their purposes, and receive their votes, and if no obstacle was cast in their

to their own views.

polls without voting. * * *

way, their leaders exerted themselves to preelection; but at the same time did not hesitate to declare, that if not allowed to vote, the would proceed to any extremity in destruction of property and life. If the control of the pell could not be had otherwise, the judges were by could not be ned otherwise, the judges were by intimidation, and, if necessary, by violence, prevented from performing their duty, or, if unyielding in this respect, were driven from their post, and the vacancy filled in form by the persons on the ground; and whenever by any means they had obtained the control of the board, the foreign vote was promiscuously poured in, without discrimination or reserve, or the slightest care to conceal its nefarious illegality. At one of the polls, two of the judges having manifolds the cared to conceal in the fore of the cared wash fully stood up in the face of the armed mob, and declared they would do their duty, one por-tion of the mob commenced to tear down the not members of the same." house, another proceeded to break in the doo of the judges' room, whilst others, with drawn knives, posted themselves at the window, with the proclaimed purpose of killing any voter who would allow himself to be sworn. Voters were

was so asserted. The Executive Journal, recent dragged from the window, because they would ly obtained, proves that in four districts, where the results were not contested, 2,964 votes were not show their tickets, or vote at the dictatio of the mob; and the invaders declared openly cast on the 30th of March, although only 1,365 voters were there, as ascertained by the census. Again: The Legislature chosen on the 30th of March, 1855, withdrew from the interior of the at the polls, that they would cut the throats of the judges, if they did not receive their vote without requiring an oath as to their residence.
The room was finally forced, and the judges surrounded by an armed and excited crowd.
were offered the alternative of resignation of Territory to a place inconvenient to its citizens, lature enacted laws to this effect, namely! forbid-ding the speaking, writing, or printing, or pub-lishing, of anything, in any form, calculated to disaffect slaves, or induce them to escape, under death, and five minutes were allowed for their decision. The ballot-box was seized, and, amid shouts of 'Hurreh for Missouri,' was carrie pain of not less than five years imprisonment with hard labor; and forbidding free persons from maintaining, by speech, writing, or printing, or publishing, that slaves cannot lawfully be held into the mob. The two menaced judges then left the ground, together with all the resident citizens, except a few who acted in the outrage, because the result expected from it correspon n the Territory, under pain of imprisonment and hard labor two years.

"When an excess of the foreign force was found to be had at one poll, detachments were sent to the others. * * * A minister of the Gospel, who refused to accode to the demands of a similar mob of some 400 armed and organ-ized men, was driven by violence from his post, and the vacancy filled by themselves. * * * Slavery in Kansas, shall sit as a juror in the trial of any cause founded on a breach of the laws which I have described. They further pro-* Another clergyman, for the expression of his opinion, was assaulted and beaten. * *

* The inhabitants of the district, powerless to resist the abundant supply of arms and ammunition, organized preparation, and overwhelming numbers of the foreigners, left the polls without voting. * vided, that all officers and attorneys should be sworn, not only to support the Constitution of the United States, but also to support and sustain the organic law of the Territory, and the Fugitive Slave Law; and that any persons of Fering to vote shall be presumed to be entitled to tote until the contrary is shown; and if any of e, when required shall refuse to take an oath it enstain polls without voung.
rence district, one voter was fired at, as he was required, shall refuse to take an oath to sustain the Fugitive Slave Law, he shall not be permitted to vote. Although they passed a law that none but an inhabitant who had paid a tax should driven from the election ground. * * *
Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some 200 men were drafted from the number, and sent off under the proper officers to another district, after which they still polled from this camp 700 votes. * * In the 4th and 7th districts, the invaders came together in an armed and organized hode. together in an armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and, the night before election, pitched their camps in the vicinity of the polls, and having appointed their own judges, in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence. In these two election districts, where the census shows 100 voters, there were polled 314 votes and lost

poll tax, and thus become legal voters, and then, after voting, return to their own State. They thus, in practical effect, provided for the people of Kissouri to control future elections at their pleasure, and permitted such only of the real inhabitants. ing of slaves.

They permitted no election of any of the officers in the Territory to be made by the people thereof, but created the offices, and filled them, or appointed officers to fill them, for long periods. They provided that the next annual election should

President's own virtual admission, by defences in-direct, irrelevant, ill-tempered, sophistical, and evasive; second: an absolute agreement, conhas Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prohibited."
The Kansas Herald, an organ of both the Administration and the Pro-Slavery party, an-nounced the result of the Legislative election in

The Squatter Sovereign, published in Missouri thus announced the result of the election, th day after it closed: "INDEPENDENCE, March 31, 1855. "Several hundred emigrants from Kansas have

inst entered our city. They were preceded by the Westport and Independence brass bands. They came in at the west side of the public square, and proceeded entirely around it, the bands cheering us with fine music, and the emigrants with good news. Immediately following the bands were about two hundred horsemen in regular order; following these were one hundred and fifty wagons, carriages, &c. They gave repeated cheers for Kansas and Missouri. They report that not an Anti-Slavery man will be in the Legislature of Kansas. We have made

a clean sweep.' A letter written at Brunswick, in Missouri A letter written at Brunswick, in Missouri, dated April 20th, 1855, and published in the New York Herald, a Pro-Slavery journal, says that "from five to seven thousand men started from Missouri to attend the election, some to remove, but the most to return to their families, remove, but the most to return to their families, with an intention, if they liked the Territory, to make it their permanent abode, at the earliest moment practicable. But they intended to vote. The Missourians were, many of them, Douglas men. There were 150 voters from this county, 175 from Howard, 100 from Cooper. Indeed, every county furnished its quota; and when they set out, it looked like an army. * *
They were armed. * * * And, as there were no houses in the Territory, they carried tents. Their mission was a peaceable one—to vote, and to drive down stakes for their future homes. After the election, some 1,500 of the homes. After the election, some 1,500 of the voters sent a committee to Mr. Reeder, to ascertain if it was his purpose to ratify the election. He answered that it was, and said the majority at an election must carry the day. But R is that the Governor might attempt to play the tyrant—since his conduct had already been in-sidious and unjust—wore on their hats bunches of hemp. They were resolved, if a tyrant at-tempted to trample upon the rights of the sov-ereign people, to hang him."
On the 29th of May, 1855, the Squatter Sovereign, an organ of the invasion in Missouri, thus

gave utterance to its spirit:

"From reports now received of Reeder, 'never intends returning to our borders.
Should he do so, we, without hesitation, say
that our people ought to hang him by the neck,
like a traitorous dog as he is, so soon as he puts his unhallowed feet upon our shores.

"Vindicate your characters and the Territory and should the ungrateful dog dare to come among us again, hang him to the first rotten

"A military force to protect the ballot-box Let President Pierce, or Governor Reeder, or any other power, attempt such a course in this. or any portion of the Union, and that day will

tions, declared the same result in frank and can did words, which cost him his office, namely: "It was indeed too true that Kansas had beer 'invaded, conquered, subjugated, by an armed force from beyond her borders, led on by a fanatical spirit, trampling under foot the princi-ples of the Kansas bill and the right of suffrage." The Honorable David R. Atchison, a direct and ut-spoken man, who never shrinks from responsibility, and who is confessedly eminent at once a of the Pro-Slavery movement therein directed against Kansas, in a speech reported as having been made to his fellow-citizens, and which, s

far as I know, has not been disavowed, said: "I saw it with my own eyes. These men came with the avowed purpose of driving or expelling you from the Territory. What did I advise you to do? Why, meet them at their own game. When the first election came off, I told you to go over and vote. You did so, and beat them. We, our party in Kansas, nominated General Whitfield. They, the Abolitionists, nominated Flenniken; not Flanegan, for Flanegan was a good, honest man, but Flenn that same Flenniken, with three hundred of his voters, left the Territory, and has never re-turned—no, never returned! "Well, what next? Why, an election for

members of the Legislature, to organize the Territory, must be held. What did I advise you to do then? Why, meet them on their own ground, and beat them at their own game again; and, cold and inclement as the weath was, I went over with a company of men. My object in going was not to vote; I had not a in Missouri. I was not within two miles of vote, but to settle a difficulty between two of our candidates; and Abolitionists of the North said, and published it abroad, that Atchison was said, and published it abroad, that Atcheon was there with bowie-knife and revolver, and by God 'twas true. I never did go into that Territory, I never intend to go into that Territory, without being prepared for all such kind of cattle. Well, we beat them; and Gov. Reeder gave certificates to a majority of all the members of both Houses; and then, after they were organized, as everybody will admit, they were the only com-

petent persons to say who were and who were A tree is known by its fruits. If Missourians voted in Kansas, it would be expected that the ballots deposited would exceed the number of

The Legislature further enacted, that no person "conscientiously opposed to holding alaves," or entertaining doubts of the legal existence of vote, yet they made no time of residence necessary, and provided for the immediate payment of a poll tax; so virtually declaring that on the eve of an election the people of a neighboring State can come in, in unlimited numbers, and, by taking up a residence of a day or an hour, pay a poll tax and thus because the state of the s the redress of the wrongs of Kansas.

lution against a tyranny of the President of the United States, identical in all its prominent features with that tyranny of the King of England which gave birth to the American Revolution. Schulpter devised and labored, who received her political Constitution from Hamilton, her intelligion, one of those common plectual and physical development from Clinton, and her intellectual and physical development from Limited and her seed by all associations, in the head one so, and had denounced the Legisland and her seed by all associations, in the head one so, and had denounced the Legisland and her seed by all associations, in the head one so, and had denounced the Legisland and her seed by all associations, in the head one so, and had denounced the believes the seed of the statements of the head one so, and had denounced the believes the head one so, and had denounced the Legisland and the provided that the next annual election should be held in October, 1856, and the Assembly should be held in October, 1856, and the States."

I place in October, 1856, and the Assembly shoul

General Stringfellow addressed the invaders officers until the session of 1858, however much his power, consequently, must be wholly taken in Missouri, on the eve of the election of March
30, 1855, thus:

"To those who have qualms of conscience as "to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be displayed and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and sanctioned and provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and sanctioned and provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and sanctioned and provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and sanctioned and provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and your provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and your provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and your provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your rights and your provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore a quered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurptensended as your provided for in the Constitution of the United States, and is the expression. has come when such impositions must be uis regarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of as these. Anatomists will describe the instrument, and even the force of the blow, if only you the wound

currence, and harmony, between the statements of the conflicting parties who were engaged in the transactions involved; third: the consequen-ces of those transactions exactly such as must fol-low, if the accusations be true, and such as could not result if they be false. A few words, however, "Yesterday was a proud and glorious day for the friends of Southern Rights. The triumph of the Pro-Slavery party is complete and overwhelming. Come on, Southern men! Bring your slaves, and fill up the Territory! Kansas patronage to the slaveholders of Missouri, to effect the providing of the pr must be added, to bring more distinctly into view and to establish his responsibility therefor. The President openly lent his official influence and patronage to the slaveholders of Missouri, to effect the abrogation of the prohibition of Slavery in Kansas, contained in the act of Congress of 1820. He knew their purposes in regard to the elections in Kansas. He never interfered to prevent, to defeat, or to hinder them. He employed his official patronage to aid them. He now defends and protects the usurpation and tyranny, established by the invaders in Kansas, with all the influence his exalted station, and even with the military power of the Republic; and he argues the duty of the people there to submit to the forcible establish nent of Slavery, in violation of the national pledge, which he concurred in giving, that they should be left perfectly free to reject and exclude that justly obnoxious system. It thus appears that the President of the United States holds the

eople of Kansas prostrate and enslaved at his To complete the painful account of this great rime, it is necessary now to add that there has not been one day nor night, since the Government of Kansas was constituted and confided to the President of the United States, in which either the properties, or the liberties, or even the lives, of its citizens have been secure against the violence and vengeance of the extreme foreign faction which he upholds and protects. At this day, Kansas is becoming, more distinctly than before, the scene of a conflict of irreconcilable opinions, to be stances of fraud and perfidy unworthy of the character of a ruler of a free people. This gath-ering conflict in Kansas divides the sympathies, interests, passions, and prejudices, of the people of the United States. Whether, under such circumstances, it can be circumscribed within the lim of the Territory of Kansas, must be determined by statesmen from their knowledge of the courses of civil commotions, which have involved questions of moral right and conscientious duty, as well as balances of political power. Whether, on the other hand, the people of Kansas, under these circumstances, will submit to this tyranny of a citizen of the United States like themselves, whose term of political power is nearly expired can be determined by considering it in the aspec in which it is viewed by themselves. Speechles here, as they yet are, I give utterance to their united voices, and, holding in my hand the ar-raignment of George III, by the Congress of 1776, I impeach—in the words of that immortal

text-the President of the United States: "He has refused to pass laws for the acce modation of the people, unless they would re-linquish the right of representation in their Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only:

"He has called together legislative bodies a place unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures being elected, for no other cause than his conviction that they would "oppose with manly

ous Legislative Houses were imposed by himself, by usurpation, on the people of Kansas "to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the State remaining in the mean time exposed to

all the danger of invasion from without, and civil war within: "He has created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance:
"He has kept among us, in times of peace

standing armies, to compel our submission to a foreign" Legislature, "and has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power:
"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For protecting" invaders of Kansas "from punishment for any murders which they shall commit on the inhabitants" of this Territory : "For abolishing the free system of American once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into" other Ter-

"For taking away our charter, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the powers of our Government:
"For suspending our own Legislature, and

for us in all cases whatsoever. What is wanting here to fill up the complet of a high judicial process? Is it an accuser? The youngest born of the Republic is before you, imploring you to rescue her from immola the altar of public faction. Is it a crime? Be think yourselves what it is that has been sub ed-off Republican Government of a Territory indeed, by name, but, in substance, a Civil State "perfectly free." They now are free only to sub-mit and obey. Consider whose system that Reestablished it. It was one of the Constitution of the United States, established by an act of the Congress of the United States. Consider what a tyranny it is that has been built on that atro cious usurpation. It is not a discriminating tyranny, that selects and punishes one, or a few, or even many, but it disfranchises all, and reduces every citizen to abject slavery. Examine the of the State of Missouri are enacted in gross without alteration or amendment, for the gov-ernment of Kansas; and then, at the end, the asty blunder of misnomer is corrected by an occurs, it means "Territory." And what a code! One that stifles not, indeed, the fruits of the womb, but the equally important element of a State, the fruits—the immortal fruits—of the mind; a code that puts in peril all rights and liberties whatsoever, by denying to men the right to know, to utter, and to argue, freely, according to conscience—a right in itself conservative of all other rights and liberties. Is an offender wanting? He stands before you, in many respects the most eminent man in all the world—the Presichosen defender and protector of the people who have been subjugated and enslaved. Is there anything of dignity or authority wanting to this tribunal? Where elsewhere shall be found one more august than the Senate of the United States? more august than the Senate of the United States?
It is the ancient, constant, and undoubted right and usage of Parliaments—it is the chief purpose of their being—to question and complain of all persons, of what degree seever, found grievous to the Commonwealth, in abusing the power and trust committed to them by the People. Does this tribunal need a motive? We have that, too, in pairful reality. These values to the property of the people of the in painful reality. These usurpations and op-pressions have hitherto rested with the President of the United States, and those whom he has abetted. If they shall be left unredressed, they will henceforth become, by adoption, our own. The conviction of the offending President is complete, and now he sinks out of view. His punishment rests with the People of the United tates, whose trust he has betrayed. his convic

Parliament called by a conqueror is itself conquered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurpregarded, as your rights and property are in
danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter
every election district in Kansas, in defiance of
Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote, at the
point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither
igive nor take quarter, as our case demands it.
It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills
it, from which there is no appeal. What right
has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in
Parliament called by a conqueror is itself conquered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, usurpquered and enslaved! Who but foreigners, to Congress to admit them as such into the Federal Union. Congress has power to admit the new State thus organized. The favorable exercise of that power will terminate and crown the revolution. Once a State, the people of Kansas can preserve internal order, and defend themselves against invasion. Thus, the constitutional remedy is as effectual as it is peaceful and simple. This is the remedy for the evils existing in the Territory of Kansas, which I propose. Happily, there is no need to prove it to be either a lawful one or a proper one, or the only possible one. The President of the United States and the Committee on Territories unanimously concede all this broad ground, because he recommends it, and they adopt it.

Wherein, then, do I differ from them? Simply thus. I propose to apply the remedy now, by admitting the new State with its present popula-

> tory shall be conceded by the usurping authorities to contain 93,700 inhabitants, and until those authorities shall direct and authorize the people to organize a new State, under a new Constitution. In other words, I propose to allow the people of Kansas to apply the constitutional remedy at once. The President proposes to deremedy at once. The President proposes to deumed, with status and the computation of the propose to allow bosom to enforce submission to its laws. A people of Kansas to apply the constitutional who have once learned to relinquish their right under compulsion, will not be long in forget fer it indefinitely, and to commit the entire ap-plication of it to the hands of the Missouri bor-that they ever had any. In extending Sla erers. He confesses the inadequacy of that into Kansas, therefore, by arms, you will sa course by asking appropriations of money to enable him to maintain and preserve order within the Territory until the indefinite period when the Believe ye the prophets? I know you do. constitutional remedy shall be applied. There is no sufficient reason for the delay which the President advises. He admits the rightfulness levies armies, nor mans navies. Why, and necessity of the remedy. It is as rightful will you insist on closing up this new Te and necessary now as it ever will be. It is demanded by the condition and circumstances of migration, while you pour into it the turbid the people of Kansas now. You cannot justly poisonous waters of African Slavery? W postpone, any more than you can justly deny, that right. To postpone would be a denial. The President will need no grant of money, or there unarmed, no citizen dwells there in safety unarmed; armed masses of man are proceeding into the Territory, from various parts of the United States, to complete the work of invasion and tyranny which he has thus begun, under circumstances of fraud and perfidy unarmed. of power where justice holds the helm. When justice is impartially administered, the obedience inhabited as it is by your own brethren, dep of the subject or citizen will be voluntary, cheerful, and practically unlimited. Freedom justly due cannot be conceded too soon. True free-dom exists, the utmost bounds of civil liberty are the Republic? You know that it will diminis obtained, only where complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily redressed. So debate about Slavery, which has become, for only can you restore to Kansas the perfect free-dom which you pledged, and she has lost.

of increase, Kansas, whose population now is 40,000, will number 100,000 in a few months. within the National Territories. Will you The point made concerning numbers is there-fore practically unimportant and frivolous. The chains, for the safety of Slavery in Misse President objects that the past proceedings, by which the new state of Kansas was organized, were irregular in three respects: First. That they were instituted, conducted, and completed, both Polygamy and Slavery, so as to guar without a previous permission by Congress, or by the local authorities within the Territory. Secondly. That they were instituted, conducted, and completed, by a party, and not by the whole people of Kansas; and, thirdly, that the new State holds an attitude of defiance and insubordination towards the Territorial authorities and the Federal Union. I reply, first, that if the proceedings in question were irregular and partisanlike and factious, the exigencies of the case would at least excuse the faults, and Control of the flood to pass away, was not me gress has unlimited discretion to waive them. Congress forbade them—no act of the Territorial Legislature forbade them, directly or by implication-nor had the Territorial Legislature power either to authorize or to prehibit them. The proceedings were, indeed, instituted by a party who favored them. But they were prosecuted and consummated in the customary forms of popular elections, which were open to all the inha itants of the Territory qualified to vote by the organic law, and to no others; and they have in no case come into conflict, nor does the new State now act or assume to engage in conflict with either the Territorial authorities or the Government of the Union. Thirdly. There can be no irregularity where there is no law prescribing selves, unaided, under the present Constituwhat shall be regular. Congress has passed no law establishing regulations for the organization loyal hitherto, and I hope and trust they or admission of new States. Precedents in such cases, being without foundation in law, are without authority. This is a country whose Govern-Constitutions. But if precedents were necessary, they are found in the cases of Texas and California, each of which was organized and admitted, subject to the same alleged irregularities.

The majority of the Committee on Territories in behalf of the President, interpose one further objection, by tracing this new State organization to the influence of a secret, armed, political socilaw in" this Territory, "establishing therein an arbitrary Government, so as to render it at eial oaths and armed power, were the enginery of the Missouri borderers in effecting the subjugation of the people of Kansas, as that machinery is always employed in the commission of political crimes. How far it was lawful or morally right for the people of Kansas to employ the same agencies for the defence of their lives and liberties, may be a question for casuists, but certainly is not one for me. I can freely confess, however, my deep regret that secret societies for any purpose whatsoever have obtained a place among political organizations within the Republic; and it is my hope that the experience which we have now so distinctly had, that they can be but too easily adapted to unlawful, seditious, and "talways been the cause of human nature." dangerous enterprises, while they bring down us recall that precious monition; let us suspicion and censure on high and noble causes inc the ways which we have pursued h when identified with them, may be sufficient to | under the light thrown upon them by that inst indace a general discontinuance of them.

Will the Senate hesitate for an hour between the alternatives before them? The passions of greatness, and we shall cease the American People find healthful exercise in practicing upon ourselves the miserable dele peaceful colonizations, and the construction of that we can safely extend Empire, when we she railroads, and the building up and multiplying of have become reckless of the obligations of E republican institutions. The Territory of Kansas | nal Justice, and faithless to the interests of lies across the path through which railroads must be built, and along which such institutions must be founded, without delay, in order to preserve the integrity of our Empire. Shall we suppress enterprises so benevolent and so healthful, and inflame our country with that fever of intestine war which exhausts and consumes not more the wealth and strength than the virtue and freedom mation of popular sovereignty within the Territory of Kansas was not mercly a failure, but was a pretence and a fraud? Or will Senators now contend that the people of Kansas, destitute as they are of a Legislature of their own, of Executive authorities of their own, of Executive authorities of their own of Executive utive authorities of their own, of Judicial authorities of their own, of a militia of their own, of revenues of their own subject to disposal by themselves, practically deprived as they are of the rights of voting, serving as jurors, and of writing, nting, and speaking, their own opinions, ar nevertheless in the enjoyment and exercise of popular sovereignty? Shall we confess before the world, after so brief a trial, that this great political system of ours is inadequate either to enable the majority to control through the operation of opinion, without force, or to give security to the citizen against tyranny and domestic violence? Are we prepared so soon to relinquish our simple and beautiful systems of republican government, and to substitute in their place the machinery of usurpation and despotism? The Congress of the United States can refuse

admission to Kansas only on the ground that it will not relinquish the hope of carrying African Slavery into that new Territory. If you are prepared to assume that ground, why not do it manfully and consistently, and establish Slavery there by a direct and explicit act of Congress? But have we come to that stage of demoralization and degeneracy so soon? We, who commenced our political existence and gained the sympathies of the world by proclaiming to other nations that we held "these truths to be self-evident: That 'all men are born equal, and have certain inalien-'able rights; and that among these rights are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:" we, who in the spirit of that declaration have assumed to teach and to illustrate, for the benefit f mankind, a higher and better civilization than they have bitherto known! If the Congress of the United States shall persist in this attempt, then they shall at least allow me to predict its results. Either you will not establish African Slavery in Kansas, or you will do it at the cost of the sacrifice of all the existing liberties of the American people. Even if Slavery were, what it

years. They govern it now, only indirect through the agency of Northern hands, tem in the national councils. Now, they practical confess to the necessity for defending it here, nitiating discussion themselves. They have once thrown away their most successful weapo compromise, and worn out that one which we the Union. It is under such unpropitious cumstances that they begin the new of extending Slavery into free territory by fo the armed power of the Federal Government You was need many votes from free States in from those States in this House, to send an an with a retinue of slaves in its train into Kansa Have you counted up your votes in the tw Houses? Have you calculated how long tho who shall cast such votes will retain their place

in the National Legislature? But I will grant, for the sake of the argume tion and present Constitution. My opponents insist on postponing the measure until the Territhat with Federal battalions you can carry Shr very into Kansas, and maintain it there you quite confident that this republican forms government can then be upheld and preserve You will then yourselves have introduced t Trojan horse. No republican Government everl

of Kansas against all enriching streams of one of you all, whether of Connecticut, or of P. sylvania, or of Illinois, or of Michigan, would ing on you for protection and safety? Will very in Kansas add to the wealth or power of of these. You profess a desire to end this nation intolerable. Is it not time to relig The Constitution does not prescribe 93,700, or any other number of people, as necessary to constitute a State. Besides, under the present ratio hope? You have exhausted the virtue. then end the debate, by binding Kansas Even then you must give over Utah to Slav

equally the one and the other of those peci

vicious anomalies, which you have hitherto va

among you without your own concurrence, s

unwise than he who expects the agitation

domestic institutions in Utah; and so you go on, sacrificing on the shrine of peace Terr

The solemnity of the occasion heads that cloud of disunion, which always aris whenever the subject of Slavery is agitated. S the debate goes on, more ardently, earnestly, as angrily, than ever before. It employs now a merely logic, reproach, menace, retort, and through this incipient war quite to the end, and there peace, quiet, and harmony, on the subj Slavery? If so, pray enlighten me, and sho how long the way is which leads to that rep The free States are loyal, and they always remain so. Their foothold on this Continen firm and sure. Their ability to maintain th loyal hitherto, and I hope and trust they may remain so. But if disunion could ever slaveholding States; and it would come when the slaveholding power, which is alre firmly established on the Gulf of Mexico, and tends a thousand miles northward along banks of the Mississippi, should have fastene grappling irons upon the fountains of the souri and the slopes of the Rocky Mounta preme in this Republic, or it would strike for in pendence or exclusive domination. Then the and warring with each other, would disgust free States of the Pacific, and they would he abundant cause and justification for withd ing from a Union productive no longer of p afety, and liberty to themselves, and no lo holding up the cherished hopes of mankind Mr. President, the Continental Congre 1787, on resigning the trust, which it had the authorities elected under the new Con

tion. We shall find, in doing so, that we ha forgotten moral right, in the pursuit of ma

THIS American invention stands unrivalled this country and in Europe. It is worn hundred persons, and with most assonshing so competition with thirty other substitutes, of French, English, and German manufacture, in the award of the Great Medal at the World's I

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